

The Hymnody of
Andreas Rudman in New Sweden, Delaware

(1696-1708)

by

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It could be expected that so visionary a King as Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) would consider expanding Swedish trade and influence in the Western hemisphere. By 1632 a company had been chartered that would be called the *New South Company* and would trade from Europe to Africa and to the West Indies. But the King's tragic death on the battlefield that same year delayed the start of the plan and it was not until Peter Minuit was involved that plans crystallized around a project that focused on the Delaware Valley.

Leaving Gothenburg in November 1637, two vessels, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip* made their way across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and arrived in the Delaware Bay on what the Dutch called the South River in March of 1638. On a shelf of rocks that extended into the Minquas Kill, now the Christina River in Wilmington, they landed and established Ft. Christina, named for their new Queen. This was the first permanent European settlement in the Delaware Valley.

More than 600 persons on eleven different ships came to the colony between 1638 and 1655.¹ The colony became a Royal venture with only Swedish investors. On the second voyage of the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640 was Torkil Reorus, appointed as chaplain to the detachment at Ft. Christina. He was the first regularly appointed clergy in the entire area and served until his early death in 1643.² He would have conducted regular

¹ Peter Stebbins Craig. *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware*. Winter Park, FL: SAG Publications, 1993, p.2 ff.

² Nils Jacobsson, *Svenska Öden vid Delaware, 1638-1831* Stockholm: SKD Bokförlag, 1938. p.53 where he notes that according to Hjalmer Holmquist the name was reversed by Thomas Campanius Holm in his 1702 work, *Kort Beskrifning on Provincen Nya Sverige uti America*. This reversal is common now in many American works on colonial history.

daily prayers and High Mass on Sundays according to the regulations of the Swedish Church law, although in somewhat less refined premises. He complained about the abuse he suffered from some of the Dutch whom he described as “those who confess the Calvinistic heresy”³

The most famous of the Swedish Governors, Johan Printz (1643-1653) was in many ways the most concerned about Christianity. His father had been Senior Pastor in Botnaryd, Sweden, in Småland, and he had considered the same profession but because of lack of funds entered the military. He had a new church built in 1646 at his new capitol at Tinicum, further up the Delaware River in what is now Essington, Pennsylvania.

On the ship that brought him was the most famous of the early missionary priests of the Church of Sweden, Johan Campanius. Campanius diligently traveled along the waterways, visiting the sick, leading prayer, and catechizing the young. He learned to communicate with the Indians and from his glebe in Upland (now Chester, Pennsylvania) he wrote out a version of Martin Luther’s *Small Catechism*. This is the first book that was published in the Algonquin language and represents an attitude of respect and friendship with the Lenape that was unique to European settlements. The early Dutch and English had uniformly disastrous relationships with the American Indians but the Swedes and Finns along the Delaware had mostly peaceful and beneficial relations.

When Governor Printz wrote to a government official in Sweden, Per Brahe, on 19 July 1644 he had this to say about religion in New Sweden:

³ Ibid, p.205

“...the divine service with its ceremony are here held just as in old Sweden, in the good old Swedish language. Our priest is bedecked with chasuble and differs in all manners from the other sects hovering around us here. The great festivals and solemn prayer-days, Sundays and Apostle days are all celebrated entirely according to our old Swedish form, on Fridays and Wednesdays, sermons and on all other days prayers, evening and morning.”⁴

It is understood from this description that hymns were being sung a cappella. Even the listing of “sermons” does not mean just a homily but a shorter service with Scripture reading, hymns, and prayers along with a sermon.

The colony limped along because of internal troubles in Europe with the Queen abdicating and a major war with Denmark. The Dutch finally made good on their threats and with overwhelming force demanded a capitulation in September 1655. The only person left to care for the spiritual needs of the colonists was Lars Carlsson Lock who had arrived in 1648. He would continue ministering to what had become two congregations, Tinicum, near the former Governor’s estate, in the north and Christina (Wilmington) in the south until his death in 1688.

Dutch rule turned out to be relatively benign. An oath of allegiance to the States General was necessary but when the *Mercurius* arrived from Sweden with 130 new settlers, it was felt best to allow the Swedes to be a semi-autonomous state, the “Swedish

⁴ Amandus Johnson, *The Instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden*. Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society, 1930. pp 163-164.

Nation” which included all the lands lying north of the Christina River. For the average person there was little change. Swedish was still the *lingua franca* of the Delaware Valley. It was the language of government, church, and home.

The settlers were allowed to manage their own affairs with a sheriff, a court at Upland, (Chester) and a militia. And they were allowed “one minister of the Augsburg Confession” which meant that Lars Carlsson Lock was acknowledged. But it was impossible for one person to do the work that two or three had performed. Church services became less frequent.

The situation changed when a certain Anders Prytz visited the settlers and reported back on their conditions to the postmaster in Gothenburg, Sweden, Johan Thelin.

Thelin wrote and asked what their situation was exactly and what it was that they needed. He promised to see to it that their petition reached King Carl XI.

The congregations quickly answered the inquiry, writing a letter back to Thelin and appending to it a list of all the members on the two congregations, which by now amounted to 972 members; 554 at Wicaco/Philadelphia and 418 at Crane Hook/Wilmington.⁵ This famous Census of 1693 is not only a genealogical treasure, but the accompanying letter indicates their loyalty to the faith of their native land:

“...that there may be sent to us two Swedish priests
that are well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and that

⁵ Craig, *The 1693 Census...* p.18.

may be able to defend them and us against all false
opposers who can or may oppose any of us, and also one
that may defend the true Lutheran faith which we do
confess, that if tribulation should come amongst us,
and we should suffer (for) our faith, that we are ready to
seal it with our blood...

Further it is our humble desire that you would be pleased
to send us three Sermon Books, 12 Bibles, 42 Hymnals,
100 of the lesser,(Small) with 200 Catechisms and 200 ABC
books...we will make honest pay for the same...⁶

The Swedes and Finns on the Delaware were now keenly aware of their minority status. In the years 1681-82 alone some 23 ships had arrived with Quakers from England. They no longer had self-rule, were being flooded with immigrants from other countries, most of whom had no Sacramental theology and their churches were without clergy.

King Carl XI was favorably inclined to answer the request but a number of difficulties presented themselves. Who would go? No Protestant monarch had ever sent ministers to another continent for the citizens of another country He appointed Magister Andreas Rudman, from Gästrikland, who had already been ordained to lead the delegation but did nothing more.

The person with the answers to all of these questions was the Dean of Uppsala Cathedral, one of the King's court chaplains, Jesper Svedberg. He would continue to

⁶ Craig, Ibid, p.159.

superbly superintend the Delaware mission after his consecration as Bishop of Skara (1702) until the end of his life in 1735. The second priest would be Erik Björck of Westmanland. The King added a third candidate, Jonas Aurén.. The books needed had to be assembled and the Indian Catechism, that had been in manuscript ready for the printer when the colony was lost, was sent to the printer and bound for the use of the missionaries. All of this meant that the three priests did not leave Sweden until 1696.

When they arrived in Elkton, Maryland on Midsummer Day in 1697 there was universal rejoicing. As Rudman wrote home: “They rejoiced over us as if they had received angels from heaven.” They proceeded immediately to Philadelphia to greet the Vice-Governor. Then Rudman took charge of the Wicaco blockhouse church in what became Philadelphia and Björck began work in Crane Hook/Wilmington. There was a lot to do. The church buildings were in ruinous condition, only one rectory existed, and many people were weak on the basics of the faith.

Erik Björck united his congregation in its determination to move across the Christina River to the area of the original cemetery at Ft. Christina. A stone church was dedicated there on Holy Trinity Sunday 1698 that still stands as the oldest Christian church in the Delaware Valley. The same contractors then set to work after some initial problems deciding where to locate the building for the northern parish. Tincum was deserted, a glebe affirmed in Passyunk, for the northern parish and the new brick building, of the exact dimensions as the one in Wilmington, was dedicated on 2 June 1700 in Wicaco, today’s Queen’s Village in South Philadelphia. Andreas Rudman gave it the unique name, Gloria Dei, the House of God’s Glory. Now the building was almost complete but Rudman had

discovered how very few hymns the congregation had memorized. As he later wrote back to postmaster Johan Thelin:

“The reason I so urgently want hymnals is this. In the early days our people could sing well but in the time of Magister Fabritius, who was a German and preached in Dutch, there was little or no singing. The English sing but little, the Quakers not at all, deeming it to be a vanity, even a sin. Among such have our people lived. At our coming [in 1697], when we would begin a hymn, an old person here and there would join in, but the young people could not. They heard the glory, they saw the devotion, they tasted the sweetness, they found a longing to learn. But what misery! They had no hymnals. We brought a large number with us from Sweden, given by the late King, [Carl XI] but they went only a little way, supplying hymnals to less than half the households...

Nor will they carry their hymnals to church with them, for fear of injuring them on the way, so that although they, and I, want to use the books, they are unwilling to bring them...

The present King, Carl XII...with similar royal grace, sent books over, but as yet they lie unbound, and may well remain so for another year or two. A good, pious and learned man, Johan Kelpius, has undertaken the work, but in a whole year's time he has succeeded in binding only the Bible. When will the rest be finished? Binding

here costs as much as one would pay for the book itself in Sweden...”⁷

While hymnals were not usually available in Swedish parish churches, each family having brought its own copy from home to the services, this was an entirely different situation. Printing was now much cheaper than it had been two generations ago and there was even a Dutch printer in Philadelphia who could print pamphlets at a reasonable cost to be given to the worshippers. The dedication of Gloria Dei was probably the occasion for Rudman’s publication of the first of the two hymnals in 1700. He no doubt also took them around on his many home visits and used them with his own portable spinet. The Cash Account kept by Rudman shows that he did not pay for them until almost a year later, on the 9th Sunday after Trinity, 1701 and that the cost was £ 1, 10 shillings.⁸ No payment is listed for the second hymnal since as Rudman states on the title page it was a gift to the congregation for the new year of 1701.

With these two collections the Swedish musical traditions were reinvigorated and the people did learn to sing. Rudman’s pastoral concern and poetic spirituality strengthened the congregation to worship for another two generations. Several future generous deliveries of books and hymnals meant that Rudman’s small publications were soon eclipsed by the bound hymnals that were available to almost everyone. But they played a vital part in reviving the congregation.

⁷ Ruth L. Springer & Louise Wallman, “Two Swedish Pastors Describe Philadelphia, 1700 and 1702” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, 84:184, 200-209 (1960) Rudman to Thelin, 20 November, 1700.

⁸ *Colonial Records of Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania*, Volume 2, edited by Peter S. Craig and Kim-Eric Williams, Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 2006, p.98.

We know that the years that Rudman spent at Uppsala University were a time of tremendous poetic creativity. Jacob Arrhenius (1642-1725) a history professor with whom Rudman corresponded from America, had written several collections of hymns (1689, 1691) and had proposed a new national hymnbook.⁹ Now there was a need to tie together the newly conquered Danish provinces in the Southern part of the peninsula with the Baltic possessions. Professor Jesper Svedberg (1643-1735), later Bishop of Skara and responsible for the congregations on the Delaware, was asked by the King to produce the first national hymnal. He completed his work in 1691 and it was then approved by the National Bible Committee and the Clergy Estate of the Parliament

The controversy that erupted after the hymnal was published was related to the perennial struggle within Lutheranism between doctrinal Orthodoxy and personal renewal of faith. Svedberg described his opponents as “Othodoxissmi”- the most orthodox.¹⁰ The new emphasis on personal and emotional themes was thought to be self-centered and anti-corporate by the older orthodox Lutheran priests. The ensuing church political battle resulted in the hymnal being confiscated and stored in the Stockholm naval base at Skeppsholmen.

When Rudman, Björk, and Aurén left Stockholm to renew the work of the Delaware Mission of the Church of Sweden they took along 50 copies of the *Uppsala Hymnal*, and 50 copies of *Soul Treasures* (a combination of hymns and devotions). Svedberg also saw to it that a “private person” allowed them to take along 600 copies of the confiscated hymnal.

⁹ Bengt Wahlström, *Studier over Tillkomsten av 1695 Års Psalmbok*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1951 p. 53.

¹⁰ Bernt Olsson, in *Sveriges kyrkorhistoria, Enhetskyrkans Tid*, edited by Ingun Montgomery, Stockholm: Verbum, 2002. p. 290.

Thus the Swedes in America had the new book with its fascinating folk melodies before it was authorized in the homeland. Well into the 19th Century, Swedish immigrants to America brought along their tattered copies of the beloved “old” hymnal.

The need for hymnals in New Sweden was immense. Those that were brought over were quickly put to use both for family use and public worship. Countless shipments were made over the course of Sweden’s concern for its North American offspring. The fact that hymns were widely used testifies to the widespread literacy in Swedish that persisted among the settlers and the devotional strength of the Swedish family units. Although not everyone could afford hymnals, they had memorized hymn verses during daily home devotions and as a part of the required curriculum in school.

In fact, the use of hymns and music in worship set apart the Swedes from their surrounding Anglo culture. The Quakers prohibited all music and the Reformed/ Puritans would allow only Old Testament Psalms in versified forms. It was thought profane to sing anything that was not found in the Scriptures. Anglicans were deeply suspicious of hymns even as late as the time of Bishop William White at the beginning of the 19th Century. Thus the first American of *Book Common Prayer* of the newly constituted Episcopal Church in 1789 provided only 27 hymns but all 150 psalms.¹¹

The importance of national culture on the Sixteenth Century Reformation cannot be underestimated. Sweden has a long musical culture and music is a part of the life of the people at festivals, parties, and gatherings of all sorts. Hymns were not only sung in church

¹¹ Carl Schalk, *Key Words in Church Music*, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978, p.148.

but in home devotions. A non-musical church service would have seemed unnatural. The famous Swedish musicologist, Harald Göransson asserts that the Swedish language itself has a natural musicality that is “...next to Italian the most vowel-rich and sonorous of all the languages in Europe.”¹² Certainly the legal provision of music schools in every Swedish community witnesses to the fact that in Sweden music making is considered a right of citizenship and not a reward for the affluent. No Swedish liturgy since the Seventeenth Century was complete without the singing of at least six congregational hymns. This tradition was shared with the German Lutherans, the German Reformed, Moravians and German Anabaptists, none of whom arrived in large numbers to Pennsylvania until later in the 18th Century. Thus the musical praxis at Gloria Dei in 1700 was unique in Philadelphia

In this same year, 1700, a hymnal was published in Stockholm by Carl Gustaf Österling that was composed of twenty-six hymns translated from German.¹³ In fact German works translated into Swedish made up by the far the largest percentage of books published in Sweden at the time, some two-thirds, and even those by Swedish authors were generally only edited by Swedes. To be sure even French and English works usually came to Sweden by way of Germany.¹⁴ At just about two million inhabitants spread out over a huge empire in northern Europe, Sweden had a very small intelligensia, that had been connected to the

¹² *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, Reformationstid*, edited by Åke Andrén, Stockholm: Verbum, 1999, p. 264.

¹³ Erik Kjellberg, *Andling sång och musik in Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4, Enhetskyrkans tid*. p.288.

¹⁴ Valborg Lindgärde, *Fromhetslitteraturen under 1600-talet in Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4, Enhetskyrkans tid*. p.271.

Hanseatic cities since the early Middle Ages. Even the famous Swedish hymnwriter, bishop and later Archbishop, Haquin Spegel, mostly translated or edited German hymns.¹⁵

It comes as no surprise then that Andreas Rudman would have written hymns for the use of his congregation, especially in the light of the anticipated completion of the new building for Gloria Dei on 2 June 1700, for which a theosophical brotherhood called the Wissahickon hermits are assumed to have provided the musical accompaniment. The two hymnals that Per Kalm identified as being written by Rudman¹⁶ deserve a special place in American history. They are not only the first Swedish imprints in the Western hemisphere but the first personally authored hymnals in any language published in the colonies. Both the collection of six hymns and collection of two hymns should be dated to 1700.

The fact that Rudman titles both collections *visor*, songs, and not *psalmer*, hymns shows his inclination to Pietism and perhaps a sense of humility as well, not being in the same league as the classical chorales of Luther and Petri. The first pietist hymnbook published in Sweden in 1717 used the same designation, *Mose och Lamsens Wisor*, “Songs of Moses and the Lamb”¹⁷

The longer hymnal, *Naogra Andeliga Wisor* [Some Spiritual Songs] lacks a title page and Arthur Renstrom theorizes that it perhaps “was a first attempt and that *Tvenne Andelige Wisor* with a title page, was improved on and printed subsequent to it.”¹⁸ Neither hymnal had a hard binding but were simply stitched together. This was not so unusual in

¹⁵ Ingun Montgomery. *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4, Enhetskyrkans tid*. p. 168.

¹⁶ Adolph Benson, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, Vol .II, New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc. 1937. p. 689.

¹⁷ Olsson, op.cit. p.300

¹⁸ Renstrom. op. cit. p.9

Sweden where hymns were sometimes printed on small flyers for the sake of the poor, or to introduce a new hymn. In fact, such “special printings” of hymns amounted to some 550 of the 2, 000 songs published as special printings before 1800.¹⁹

Renstrom’s theory of composition also makes sense from the contents. The second collection, *Tvenne Andelige Wisor*, [Two Spiritual Songs] is obviously for personal reflection and devotion. On the title page Rudman states that it is a New Year’s gift to the congregation for the year 1701, thus it would have been published around Christmas at the end of 1700. Despite British reluctance to adopt the Gregorian calendar, the Swedish priests thought of January 1st as New Year’s Day and kept their accounts in this fashion. We might call this the *New Year’s Hymnal*. The first and longer collection of six hymns seems designed for congregational worship, especially since it includes as its last entry the *Gloria in Excelsis* versification that was sung at every Swedish High Mass, *Allenste Gud i Himmels tron* [To God Alone on Heaven’s Throne]. It was no accident that this appears on the back page of the hymnal. Since there was no cover, this placement was easy to locate for weekly use. An alternate title for this collection might be the *Gloria Dei Hymnal*.

The printer is identified on the title page of the smaller hymnal as Reinier [Reynier] Jansen. It is obvious that the same printer published both books since there are no Swedish or German vowels in either publication. Thus the å is printed as “ao” or “aa”, the ö as “oe” and the ä as “ae”. This gives the text a very peculiar look, as if the person setting the type

¹⁹ Erik Kjellberg, *Andlig sång och musik in Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4, Enhetskyrkans tid*, ed by Ingun Montomery, Stockholm: Verbum, 2002. p.288.

does not understand the words, which was undoubtedly the case. Jansen was a Dutch lace-maker who arrived in Philadelphia in 1698 and settled in Germantown in 1699.²⁰ He seems to have taken over the Quaker printing business of William Bradford when Bradford moved to New York. He was kept busy publishing for the Society of Friends, providing legal forms, deeds, bonds and almanacs until his death in 1706.

The fact that both hymnals are printed in Latin letters rather than the usual Gothic print style/Fraktur, as was the *1695 Hymnal*, shows that the printer was mainly involved with English business.

Considering the major influence of German culture in Sweden, we are not surprised that only three of the total of eight hymns seem to be original works by Rudman. The others are translations from German originals, although Rudman wryly often notes not that they are “translated” but that they have been “improved”. The music that is suggested here, since no tunes are named, is that which was traditionally used for them or would have been available in the German hymnals of the time and in the 1691/1695 Swedish Hymnal. The first hymns in each collection seem to be original works by Rudman.

Rudman’s creativity is seen in the unusual meters that are chosen. Only the second and the third from the *Gloria Dei Hymnal* use the same tune and meter. And here he seems to want to use a familiar tune to carry the dialogue between Jesus and the believer, “the soul.”. Rudman could have used the easier common meters with eight syllables that are the hallmark of Swedish hymnody. He deliberately chose unusual meters.

²⁰ Renstrom, op. cit. p. 10.

The images are typical of German pietism with its personal intimacy. Artistically, pietistic themes are seen in much art of the Baroque epoch. In Flanders the premier example is Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and in Sweden, Court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1629-1698) The colossal paintings by Ehrenstrahl, *The Crucifixion* and *The Last Judgment* originally in the Royal Palace Chapel in Stockholm, and now in the Stockholm Cathedral give a good idea of the sort of emotional intensity that was characteristic of the period. Rudman would have seen these paintings before he left Stockholm since they were completed in 1695 and 1696.

None of the original manuscripts are in the United States. Copies of both are in the Kungliga Bibliotek [Royal Library] in Stockholm and the best surviving copy of the longer hymnal is at Uppsala University Library. Helsinki University Library does not now have either Rudman hymnal in its collections.

Some Spiritual Songs

There are six hymns in this collection. The first hymn, *Allt vad som I denne Världen må vara* has the unusual meter of 11,10,11,10,8, 10. Richard Hulan translated the first four and last two stanzas into English in an Elizabethan version published in 1987²¹. The melody suggested here from the *1691/1695 Hymnal* is a haunting Swedish folksong that mirrors the longing of the text, especially in the ninth stanza. In the 1986 Hymnal of the Church of Sweden, *Den Svenska Psalmboken*, it is Number 269 set to the words, *Sorgen och glädjen*. These words have been known in Sweden since 1681.

²¹ *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol.II, Number 1 Spring 1988, pp. 36-37.

The second hymn, *När vill du Jesu min enda vän jag besluta*, and the third, *Har du O Jesu då alldels ditt ansikte blida*, both have the exotic meter, 14,14, 4,7,8. The best known chorale tune for this comes from the *Stralsund Gesangbuch* of 1665 by the great Reformed composer, Joachim Neander (1650-1680). Since Sweden had conquered this area in the Thirty Years War there was constant trade and interchange between Pomerania and Sweden. In the Church of Sweden Hymnal it is number 2 The second hymn seems to be an original by Rudman, but he tells us that the third one is a translation, apparently from a German original. This eleven stanza hymn is a highly imaginative dialogue between Jesus and the believer (The Soul). It naturally lends itself to some sort of alternation performance.

The fourth hymn, *O Jesu Christ, min Frälsar visst* is again set to an unusual meter of 8,7,4 4, 4, 7. Rudman says that it is “improved”, meaning that it is also a translation of a German original. The melody suggested here is from 1589 by Johannes Rhau, a German pastor in Wetter. In the Church of Sweden Hymnal it appears as *En blomma ut i öknen stod* and is #347. It was also included in the *1691/1695 Hymnal*. The Bridegroom mysticism reflected here comes originally from a Christologically interpreted Song of Songs and was favored in the Middle Ages by Bernard of Clairveau.

One of the most famous of all the Lutheran hymns of the 17th Century, “How brightly beams the Morning Star” (The German, *Wie schön leuchtet*, In Svedberg, *Så skön lyser then Morgenstiern* or *Du morgonstjärna mild och ren*, in modern Swedish) was composed by Philpp Nicolai in 1599 with such a bridegroom mysticism in mind. This has been largely excised in its many English translations. It should be recalled that neither Scandinavia nor Germany had the experience of English Puritanism and were not as adverse to bodily images

as their compatriots across the channel. Svedberg could even include a Latin line describing the church as the Bride of Christ as, *Gloriosa Coeli rosa, Most Glorious Heavenly Rose*.²²

Such allegorical visions were popular among pietist authors. Only the soul and Jesus seem to matter. In the Swedish original this is more apparent than in the English translation. In the third verse the Swedish original really reads that the soul yearns so much for her Lord, that it amounts to desiring physical union, *med dig para*. A hymn with similar Bridegroom mysticism was included in the Svedberg Hymnal as nr. 411, *Eija! Mitt hierta*, and is attributed to a Danish woman, Elle Andersdatter.²³

Perhaps the most famous example of such an alternation between the Soul and Jesus is found in the Advent cantata of Johan Sebastian Bach, BWV Nr.140, *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*. There the soprano and bass aria circle each other in a duet, while the Soul (soprano) yearns for her *Teil* (portion) and Jesus (bass) responds as her *Heil* (Savior). Interestingly enough a hymn attributed to Johannes Kelpius and according to Julius F. Sachse published by Reynier Jansen in a now lost edition in 1700 in his *A Method of Prayer*, is also a dialogue between The Soul and Jesus. It is titled, “O Jesus teach me how to find you” and seems to not be related to Rudman’s text.²⁴

The fifth hymn, *Jesu du min gamman* is a fresh translation of the beloved *Jesu Meine Freude*. In its original form it was a love song, *Flora, meine Freude*, written in 1641 by

²² Bernt Olsson, op.cit. p. 294

²³ Bernt Olsson, ibid, p.300.

²⁴ Kirby Don Richards, *Johannes Kelpius, A Method of Prayer*. Philadelphia: Schuylkill Wordsmoths, 2006, p. 83.

Christoph Caldenbach.²⁵ The music was originally composed by Johann Crüger, a Berlin church musician to new words by Johann Frank, (1618-1677) lawyer and mayor of Gubben in 1653. It appeared in the famed hymn collection *Praxis Pietatis Melica*(1661). It was translated into Swedish by State Secretary Johan Schmedeman in Stockholm by 1694. It does not seem that Rudman had access to this alternate translation, or he may not have approved of it. Johann Sebastian Bach, was likewise entranced by the strong melody and the odd meter, 6,6,5,6,6,5,7,8,6, writing a motet to this same hymn tune, BMV 227. In the Church of Sweden Hymnal, 1986 it is #354.

The last hymn was probably the most frequently used, *Allenste Gud I Himmels tron*". Since there was no cover on either of the small booklets, this hymn was placed on the last page to facilitate easy use. It was composed, perhaps as early as 1522, by Nicolaus Decius (1485-1546), a German monk who became a Lutheran pastor in Stettin and Königsberg. Based on a Tenth Century Gregorian melody, it is a versification of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the second part of the Ordinary of the Mass. It was often used with Martin Luther's suggested reforms of the Mass, and was widely adopted by Reformation churches so that the congregation could sing rather than listen to a choir. It was in Swedish as early as 1567 and was a normal part of the Swedish High Mass until 1985. It is #18 in the Church of Sweden Hymnal, 1986. The German original reads *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*.

At the same time Decius also wrote a hymn version of the *Agnus Dei*, the fourth part of the Ordinary of the Mass, *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig*. In its Swedish version, *Guds rena*

²⁵ *Lieder der Pietismus aus dem 17 och 18 Jahrhundert*. Christain Bunnens. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003. p. 85

Lamm oskyldig (Svenska Psalmbok, 1986. Nr. 143). It was sung at almost every Eucharist from 1536 in a version by Olaus Petri until the 20th Century. Since everyone had no doubt memorized its hauntingly beautiful and simple words and tune, Rudman did not need to include it.

Two Spiritual Songs

Rudman tells us that both of these hymns are for private devotion. The first seems to be an original and uses the popular pietist image of the Jesus the Good Shepherd searching for the lost sheep (John 10:11 ff). Extensive reference is also made to the Old Testament's 23rd Psalm. Its eleven stanzas fit well with a well-known Swedish chorale from the *1691/1695 Hymnal*. This chorale is found three different times in the Church of Sweden Hymnal of 1986 (Numbers 34, 348, and 378). It is perhaps best known with Archbishop Wallin's words, *Vänligt över jorden glänser* from 1811. (Number 34) It could less appropriately be sung to the more robust German tune by Samuel Rodigast, *Was Gott tut ist wohlgetan* from 1675. Its meter is: 8.7.8.7.4.4.7.7.

The second and shorter hymn is a translation of Christian Keimann's (1607-1662) *Meinem Jesum lass ich nicht*. Keiman was born in Bohemia and was a school principal in Zittau, Saxony. This hymn was written in honor of the Elector Johann Georg of Saxony who had died in 1656. It was written in 1658 and in the original has an acrostic in the first letters of every line in the final verse. This was a not unusual and refined way to honor a person.

The German words are: *Jesus, Geh, Christus, Zu, Selig*, which can be read as Johann, Georg, Churfürst, zu, Sachsen (Johan Georg, Prince–Elector of Saxony)²⁶

It is an appropriate choice for the last hymn with its sense of not abandoning or being abandoned by God. It is not by chance that the first Swedish word is *JESUS*, capitalized to make sure that we know it is an intimate hymn to God's Son. Jakob Arrhenius had written a good many hymns stressing a personal relationship with Jesus and they almost all began with Jesus' name.²⁷ The original melody was written by Johann Ulich (1630-1700), a German church musician in Torgau and Wittenberg in 1674. In the 1986 Hymnal of the Church of Sweden, the music is used for number 472. The melody and text are well suited to each other, however an alternate melody from 1691 would be one of Arrhenius' Jesus Hymns, *Jesus all mitt goda är* which was found in the 1937 Hymnal of the Church of Sweden as Number 122.

Unlike the longer hymnal this one has a title page that gives its date and the reason for its printing, along with the printer but humbly does not identify the author. Of course, we know that Gloria Dei Church was the only Swedish congregation in Philadelphia and had only one pastor in 1700, Andreas Rudman.

The Cathedral Chapter in Uppsala, which took over the administration of the Mission after the death of Bishop Svedberg, was perplexed about the increasing use of English. There seemed to be little reason to send Swedish pastors who did not know the English language

²⁶ *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, Stuttgart: Verlagskontor des Evangelischen Gesangbuchs, 1953. In *Dritter Teil, Anhang zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch.*, Der Verfasser der Texte und Weisen, p.63.

²⁷ Bernt Olsson, *ibid*, p.297

if the congregations were unable to function in Swedish. They agreed to permit English when Swedish was not understood but wanted to keep Swedish as much as possible. They suggested that Carl Magnus Wrangel as Dean of the mission have translated those portions of the missal(*Handbok*) that were necessary for worship and that others translate some of "our beautiful hymns to prevent syncretism with the English Church."²⁸

They were correct in understanding that the hymns would be the bearer of Swedish Lutheranism. But of course, it was too late. The congregations were already used to the *Book of Common Prayer* liturgy and no one came forward as a translator. The German Lutherans had no English services. And it had been Bishop Svedberg's intention that the congregations should work in close harmony with the English Church. They already had a history of three generations of "syncretism" and seemed to find it helpful. After the Revolution only the rural congregation in Swedesboro had members who could still understand Swedish.

When the last pastor of the Church of Sweden, Nils Collin of Gloria Dei, died in 1831 all of the eight Old Swedes churches had become functioning members, if not official members, of their nearest diocese of the Episcopal church. They had made the cultural transition from Swedish mission to American church.

Eventually hymn singing came back as the Nineteenth Century rolled on with its Oxford Movement and its series of revivals. Jenny Lind came to sing at Gloria Dei at Mid-Century and by 1905 a large Hook & Hastings Pipe Organ was installed that in restored

²⁸ Jacobsson, Nils. *Ibid.*, p.110.

condition is one of the treasures of American organ building. In the Twenty-First Century there is now as much singing at Gloria Dei as there ever was in the Eighteenth.